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CHARLES GAGNON, former sociology professor and FLQ member, and Paul Lévesque, member of the Mouvement Etudiant Québécois, of which the McGill Student Movement is a branch, discuss Quebec at an Academic Activities Committee forum yesterday.

daily photo by harold rosenberg

by alvyn m. katz

Gagnon wants worker's party

The present problem in Quebec is the necessity to end capitalist exploitation, Charles Gagnon said yesterday at a forum on "Quebec: The National Question", organized by the Academic Activities Committee. Gagnon, a former sociology professor and FLQ member, told an audience of three hundred that the problem was the same whether it was

called economic, social, or national.

Paul Lévesque, a member of the Mouvement Etudiant Québécois, and Michael Oliver, Vice-Principal (Academic) of McGill, also spoke during the debate on the problems facing Quebec society and how to overcome them.

Gagnon pointed out that it was a "grave error and a lie" to believe that an independent, "democratic" Quebec dominated by bourgeois interests could solve these problems.

"But denouncing the Parti Québécois is not throwing out the national struggle of Quebec," he continued.

"The problems of Quebec can be resolved only by the establishment of a socialist state. And we must consider class struggle to be able to consider the construction of socialism."

Lévesque identified U.S. imperialism and Anglo-Canadian colonialism as the two enemies of the Quebec people, and discussed two problems which plague Quebec.

"The first problem is that Quebec has been an oppressed nation for two or three hundred years," Lévesque said. "The second problem is neo-colonialism, for the U.S. monopoly corporations own 75% or more of the Quebec economy."

Lévesque agreed that these problems could only be overcome by fighting against and expelling U.S. imperialism and Anglo-Canadian colonialism. He listed three dominant forces in the present political life of Quebec:

- the genuine patriotic forces, which unite the people of Quebec under the leadership of the Parti Communiste du Québec (Marxiste-Léniniste) in the fight against the two oppressive powers.

- the confederation forces of Trudeau, Bourassa, and their associates, who represent an alliance of U.S. and Anglo-Canadian capitalists which exploits and suppresses the working class.

- the "Holy Alliance of the 'left'", led by the PQ and other

Continued on page 3

by joan mandell

Students stifle attempts to Frost over fee hike

Stanley Frost, Vice Principal of Administration yesterday said it would be "unrealistic" and "impossible" for McGill to take a stand on the proposed fee hike for foreign students.

Speaking at an open forum organized by the McGill Anti-Fee Hike Coalition, Frost seemed more concerned about the "fearful row" made by the air conditioner.

"If we don't get any other advantage out of this meeting, at least we'll get the air conditioner repaired," he said. Later he added, "as Vice Principal of Administration, I'll have to do something about the public address system as well."

Frost claimed that because McGill is not really a private university, it must comply with the wishes of the Quebec government even if it is opposed to the hike.

However, Frost tried to appease the foreign students by telling them, "we want the non-Canadian students here and therefore we are setting up a bursary."

The panelists were not impressed.

George Archer, speaking first, countered the argument that the people of Quebec are "subsidizing" foreign students. "It's ridiculous to talk of subsidizing them." He pointed out that Canadian companies make \$1700 on each ton of bauxite that they pay Jamaica \$17 for.

"After one day's work I presume that they've paid for all their students in Quebec. We pay our dues before we get here."

He also criticized the attitude that Canada is doing Third World countries a favor because they will be forced to develop their own universities. Archer explained that in order to secure enough money to develop universities, Third World governments would have to cut down on expenditures in health, welfare and other areas. Archer proposed that the 1500

American students at McGill" are in a better position to meet that fee than those from the Third World."

Frost challenged this, saying that some Americans come to McGill because they cannot afford tuition fees charged by US universities. He argued that the difference in per capita income between the US and the Third World countries therefore did not apply.

Dahya Bhaga, the second speaker, claimed that the Quebec government is playing a political game, "hitting the people who cannot afford it". The only foreign students who will be able to come are wealthy ones who will act as "lackeys for the Quebec government."

The proposed new tuition fee for foreign students is \$2500 while fees for Canadian students are to be lowered to \$500.

Bhaga contended that the proposed fee hike goes against the "bourgeois idea of free exchange of knowledge and ideas".

During the discussion that followed, one of the 150 students present attacked McGill's position, represented by Frost, as "extremely wishy-washy".

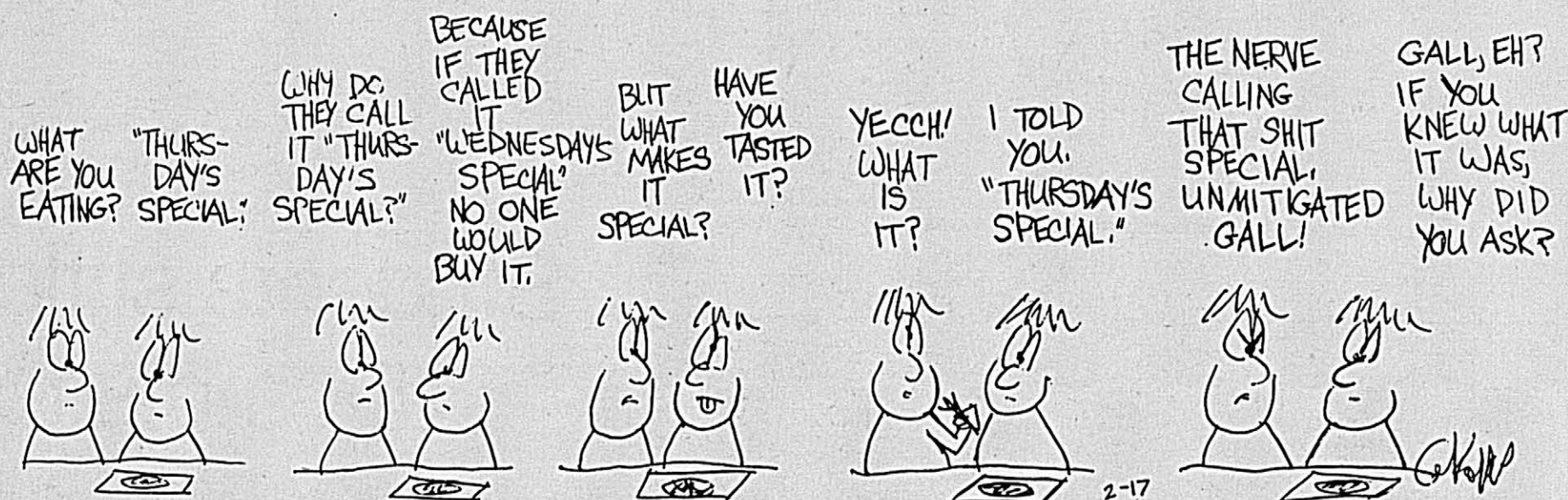
Another student emphasized that "McGill should take public stands for or against the fee hike even if it has no power to make the final decision."

The chairman ended the meeting, stressing that the matter of the fee hike was political rather than economic and that "McGill's not really interested in protecting the rights of the student at McGill".

The suggestions were brought up that the university should get in touch with different universities in Quebec and Canada, and the Quebec Minister of Education, and discuss the matter with them.

Students wishing to sign the ISA petition against the fee-hike can do so at the ISA office in the Union basement.

LEAN AND HUNGRY/ BY GEORGE KOPP



PGSS

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Nominations are hereby called for the following positions:

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**
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- TREASURER**

These positions may be held by any resident registered student of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research and those students registered in the School for Graduate Nurses proceeding to the degree of Bachelor of Nursing.

All nomination papers must contain only the following statement: "We, the undersigned members of the Post-Graduate Students' Society, nominate _____ for the position of _____ (fill in the appropriate position)."

All nomination papers for the position of President must be signed by fifty (50) nominators and nomination papers for the positions of External Vice President, Internal Vice President, University Affairs Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer by twenty-five (25) nominators, with their year, department, school or institute and be countersigned by the candidate (including his/her address and Phone Number).

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Irene Goldstone
Chief Returning Officer

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Lévesque pointed out that it is necessary to fight the tools of imperialism, such as chauvinism, to fight U.S. imperialism.

"All those not fighting chauvinism are agents of U.S. imperialism, whether they like it or not, whether they are conscious of it or not," he said.

He condemned the section of the French-Canadian "left", such as the Parti Québécois and the Reggie Chartrand group, for trying to divide the working class on a basis of language and culture.

"People are building fronts with Nazis on the language question," he said. Lévesque pointed out that Chartrand intended to kick out the Jews if ever he took power in Quebec.

Three things must be emphasized in the struggle for a free Quebec, Lévesque added. First, the national liberation struggle will be a failure unless it is supported by the workers; second, resolute propaganda must be directed against all forms of chauvinism; and third, the working class must be the leading force in the struggle.

A lengthy question and answer period followed the discussion between the three, although students had to restrict their questions to Gagnon and Lévesque due to the untimely departure of Oliver.

One question concerned the validity of the use of terror as a means of awakening the consciousness of the masses.

Lévesque responded that terrorism could be of value at some future time, but that armed struggle would be stupid now because the workers must take the initiative.

"Terrorism and reformism are really twin brothers," he said. "One tries to force the bourgeoisie to be better, and the other tries to persuade it to be better."

A student pointed out that terrorism is essentially an elitist attitude, because it implies that the people are incapable of understanding the contradictions of society themselves, and have to be forcefully led to recognize them.

Gagnon added that "the important thing in any struggle is the direction of the movement by a workers' class party organization. When the organization is developed, then the tactics will develop."

He does not feel that Quebec workers are organized enough yet, and declared that the present goals of the revolutionary movement must be to organize a true workers' party.

"A true Marxist is one who understands the people and who explains the sources of conflict to them," he said.

When a student rose to point out that a revolutionary workers' party already existed, the Parti Communiste du Québec (Marxiste-Léniniste), and had been in existence since 1968, Gagnon suggested that it was still too small to be called a true workers' party, and that perhaps later he would agree if it continued to grow and influence Quebec workers.

Gagnon added that the liberation struggle of the Quebec people must be national, but within the context of a North American socialism.

by amin kassam

Council hassles AAC over constitution

Yesterday's Student Council meeting was highlighted by attempts on the part of some councillors to hinder the passage of the Academic Activities Committee's constitution.

Commerce representative Bennett Little proposed that the constitution be tabled. When this failed, PGSS representative Robert Lantos was given the floor to ask AAC spokesman Ze'ev Ionis pedantic questions about the definition of "Academic".

Lantos was the member who broke quorum and thus stopped discussion when the AAC constitution came up for consideration at Council's last meeting.

Lantos contended that the activities of the AAC did not fit the word "Academic" as he knew it and suggested that the AAC admit that it was a political organization. Ionis pointed out that the constitution made it very clear that the AAC was not a political organization and that, if Lantos had bothered to attend any of the Committee's meetings, he would have been aware of that fact.

The constitution was debated by AAC members at a meeting a week ago, during which the AAC's policies were clarified. The meeting was open to all students. It was explained then that the organization had been set up to encourage serious debate on all questions.

All posters distributed by the AAC contain the following description about the organization: "The AAC is an organization which is working to build forums where students can democratically discuss fundamental issues of interest. This forum is part of an overall programme being carried out in opposition to the practice of confining debate to 'side-line' questions, or limiting its extent through bureaucratic classroom procedures which reduce the participation of students to the level of simply questioning 'expert' opinionaters."

In spite of Ionis' denial, Lantos continued to insist that the AAC was a political body and suggested that its name be changed to "Progressive Students' Association".

AAC member Devinder Garewal responded that Lantos had no business questioning the Committee's choice of name

and that the councillors were not supposed to do anything more than voice any objections they had to the articles in the constitution.

He was ruled out of order by Gabor Zinner, incumbent president of the Students' Society. Zinner said that Lantos "has the floor".

Garewal replied that the AAC members had not gone before Council to listen to bureaucratic bullshit and told Zinner, "Hang you and your floor." He said that he was replying to what Lantos had said.

Arts representative Nigel Gibson supported Garewal, pointing out that clubs and societies were merely supposed to tell Council what their names would be and not have to justify them.

Arts representative Mario DiPaolo said that Council had jurisdiction over all clubs and societies and that Council's inquisition of the AAC members was therefore justified.

At one stage, Zinner asked Garewal to shut up. "Do you want me to physically eject you?" he asked.

The students present at the meeting laughed and there was a chorus of "Just try it!"

Little asked Garewal if he was a student. He was told that the question before Council was whether or not councillors had any objections to the constitution, and that he ought to stick to the point.

Ionis, referring back to Lantos' suggestion that the AAC be called "Progressive Students' Association", informed Lantos that membership had been offered to Little. "You probably consider him progressive," he said amid laughter from the audience.

When a spectator objected to the bureaucratic red tape under which Council was attempting to hide its opposition to the constitution, Engineering representative Barry Hoodem threw a book at him.

Daily editor Tom Sorell pointed out that Lantos and the other councillors were imputing motives to the AAC without coming out into the open. "If you think that they are Marxist-Leninist, why don't you come out and say it?" Lantos muttered something indistinguishable at this.

The constitution was finally passed by a vote of 5 to 4.

Sipping the beer that had been so thoughtfully provided for the evening, the councillors managed to steer an erratic course through part of the rest of the agenda.

Quorum was frequently broken in spite of the lure of the beer with councillors wandering in and out of the council room at will or talking among themselves while Zinner pounded the council table with his wooden gavel, screaming for "order".

The magic words for the evening seemed to be "Mr. So-and-So has the floor", "Robert's Rules of Order" (which the councillors adhered to with religious fervour) "Motion-to-put", and other expressions of bureaucratic red tape.

When quorum was first broken (by Lantos), Council indicated its method of work by pretending that quorum was still being maintained. One councillor pointed out for the edification of his fellow members that Council did not have to break up until someone at the table "challenged" the lack of quorum.

Councillors frequently found themselves confused over what was happening with Zinner making desperate attempts to "clarify" motions several times during the course of the evening.

At one stage, Zinner also seemed to be affected by the festive mood of the councillors. When the constitution of the Drop in the Bucket Committee was being discussed, he referred to it as "Drop in the Cu... I beg your pardon, Bucket."

Council passed a budget which included, among other things, "Erotic shows" and pop music.

Our hard-working representatives also discussed a loan made by the Students' Society to PGSS which the latter is now unable to repay as agreed. Council agreed to make the terms of repayment easier after hearing the financial woes of the PGSS.

A motion to approve the CRUG report on student representation, and thus endorse the decision of last year's Council on the issue, was not discussed. Instead, Council rescinded last year's decision, passing a motion that "This Council does not support the CRUG report about student representation on Senate, although it is a step in the right direction."

Before retiring for the night, the councillors discussed the advisability of withdrawing representatives from Senate committees. A spokesman for the PGSS, who had earlier announced his organization's decision to censure Council for withdrawing its representatives from Senate, said that this would only "widen the split" among the students. It was pointed out to him that it was the PGSS that was "deciding to play games" with the issue by censuring Council.

An attempt by Will Hoffman, University Affairs Director, to expose the corruption behind appointments to Senate committees was ruled out of order by Zinner, who said, "There is a motion on the floor to which you are not speaking; this is really absurd."

Gagnon . . .

Continued from page 1

groups who take a sectarian stand on the language question, whose goal is an alliance between U.S. imperialism and its French-Canadian servants at the expense of Anglo-Canadian colonialism.

Gagnon stated that the revolutionary movement must avoid two traps. First, it must avoid becoming a "social-democratic, petty-bourgeois" organization, and second, it must resist bourgeois nationalists, such as the Parti Québécois.

He added that revolutionary movements could not possibly exist as union movements, although they could perhaps originate within the ranks of unions.

"The workers' struggle can only lead to triumph if the workers themselves direct it," he said.

Oliver, former National President of the New Democratic Party, saw the problem of Quebec as the need to find a "viable political arrangement" to offset the confrontation of two different peoples, the English and the French.

He claimed that the people of Quebec must steer between two "extremes": attributing problems exclusively to economic, or cultural and linguistic causes.

"Issues exist in economic terms," Michael Oliver declared, "but we must guard Canadian rights"

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FROM OUR READERS

CPL: perils of Populism

by Henry Srebnik

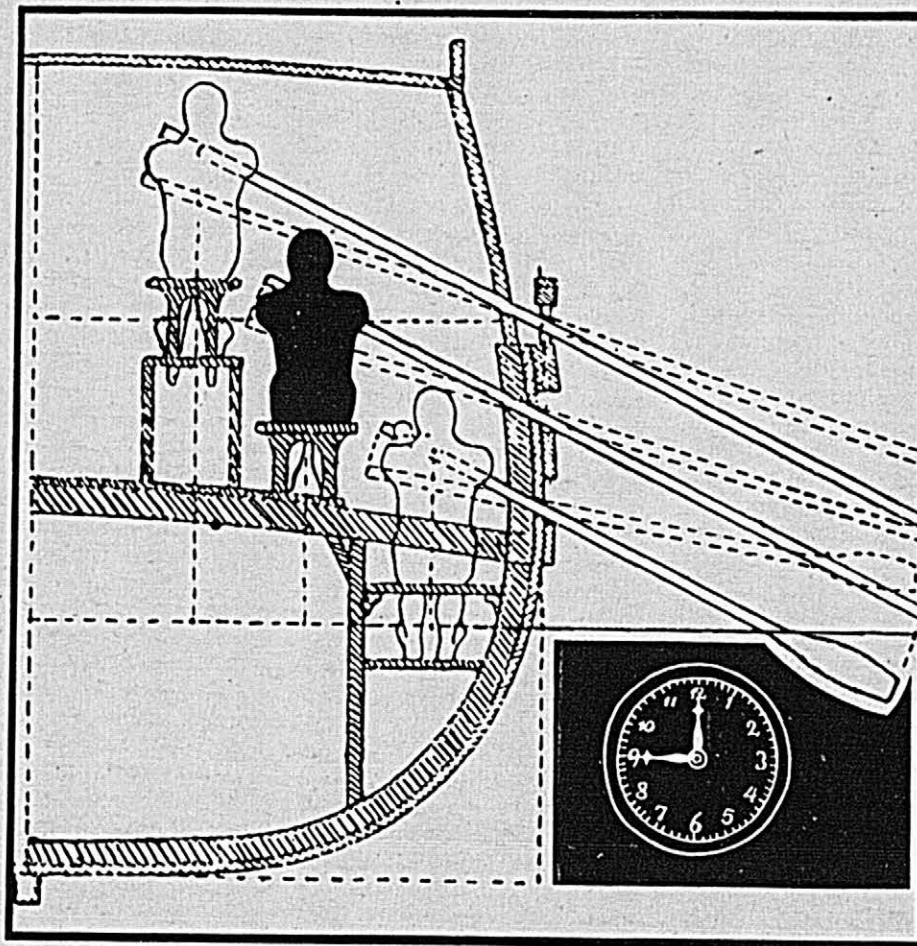
The socialist movements throughout the world, and especially in the advanced capitalist countries of the north Atlantic region, have been undergoing many changes, theoretical and organizational, in the past decade, due to a resurgence of left-wing sympathies by broad strata of the populations in those countries, caused initially by political-ideological traumas such as the Vietnam war, and compounded recently by more 'classical' dilemmas of depression and unemployment. Not surprisingly, there has been a proliferation of various groups, many quite disillusioned with the relative failure of the older socialist parties, and thus determined to work out new strategies and tactics appropriate to the specific conditions — historical, economic, political, etc — of these countries, it is all the more distressing, then, to see so many of them making many of the same errors they criticize their predecessors for.

The Canadian Party of Labour is a new party calling itself Marxist-Leninist, and organized on a nation-wide basis, concentrating mainly on factory workers. This party especially has been committing many errors of late, the main one being economism — that is, the tie-in of the struggle to specific trade-union demands and the day-to-day struggle of workers against their conditions, with little regard for the wider, political-ideological role that such a party should perform.

The economistic approach taken by CPL is evident in its newspaper, *The Canadian Worker*, which focuses almost exclusively on specific factory struggles, and fails to tie even those (except in a mechanical, abstract way) in with wider problems relating to capitalism as a system and the state as its political form. It also portrays an abysmal lack of historical knowledge, and fails to point out the specific historical conditions leading to various important roadblocks in the struggle for socialism — such as the reasons for 'sell-out' unions — based on a complex interplay of economic factors (the growth of Canadian capitalism in its specific forms), political problems (federalism, the national question in Quebec, immigrant-native labour, etc), ideological factors (British bourgeois democracy and the ideology of the labour movement in Canada), etc.

Instead, CPL's populism, with its psychology of hate, with its lack of any deeper understanding of class struggle, becomes a form of, ironically enough, McCarthyism — the entire labour movement is still run almost entirely by the Communist Party, it turns out, they are still behind all the sell-outs on the left. CPL sees the workers as being somehow eternally militant, ready to rebel constantly, and sold out at every turn by these crafty labour leaders.

CPL refuses to acknowledge the fact that unions, bad as they may be in various cases, do at least do something for workers, do negotiate for them, etc. On the other hand, ultra-left groups occasionally show up, exhort them to the utmost in militancy — and then usually fade away, disappear, lost interest, etc — leaving the workers in question unemployed, and possibly even blacklisted. Little wonder workers are suspicious of student radicals, and will trust even unions ahead of them!



CPL's economism totally neglects the entire philosophy and economic theory of Marxism — thus alienation and other concepts in Marxism are downplayed or ignored, and more significantly, given its trade-union approach, so is the whole idea of surplus value and the selling by workers of their labour power under capitalism — instead of showing this inevitable exploitation of workers by the mechanics of capitalist production and profit, the populists in CPL make it a question of evil bosses keeping down wages — as if it were just a question of underpayment.

Rigidity and formalization leads to economic determinism, rather than historical materialism. "The state", "the party", "the boss" — all somehow unchanging categories (so according to one CPL statement, Cuban workers are still working for 'the bourgeoisie', and thus, since 'a boss is a boss', they are not that much better off than before 1959). In this way are Marxist concepts twisted out of all historical context, out of the very stream of world-historical development, and assume this almost spiritual, unchanging, 'eternal' dimension. Some people, by knowing "everything," end up knowing less than bourgeois opponents of socialism.

Indeed, CPL economism often does verge on bourgeois ideology — the sociological theories of logical positivism, the non-dialectical approach which in no way differentiates between appearance and reality, and, more importantly, does not take potential and the historical development forced by contradictions, into account.

Thus, *The Canadian Worker* will have (as in a recent issue) such titles as "Smash Boss-union Plot" — the idea being to demonstrate, not the fantastic intricacies of statist monopoly capitalism, its whole economic-ideological system, and how this affects the inevitable defeats of unions,

especially if fighting offensive actions, but rather to bring it down to the level of corruption, crime, degeneracy. The union is portrayed as an adjunct of the company, nay, worse than the company, fooling the workers' and yet in the pay (literally) of 'the boss'.

This abstract universalism leads to a static portrayal of worker-boss conflict, with the union bureaucrats 'secretly' working for the bosses, needing only exposure to the workers to get booted out, and fails to see the problems of unionism per se, its inherent limitations, within this system — which is, of course, where a party should enter the picture, but CPL, it seems, just wants to be a better trade-union. Of course it would be hard-pressed to explain why it too — and indeed even Marx — would most likely lose a strike waged under conditions in an industry such as clothing, which is archaic, petty-bourgeois to a large extent, suffers from heavy overseas competition and thus must rely on cheap, immigrant labour, etc.

Instead of dealing with these complexities, and trying to organize these workers around wider theoretical frameworks (as well as fighting for immediate improvements in pay and conditions, of course!), CPL finds it much easier to revert to populist conspiracy theories. These, being partly true (there are of course, given the whole theoretical-ideological subservience of American AFL-CIO-CLC trade unionism to monopoly, statist capitalism and its liberal system, many union leaders who are totally corrupted, on the 'lowest' levels, and do get payoffs, homes, even sex, all provided for by the owners) obscure the much deeper, more fundamental problems. Yet the economists of CPL would wish to hide these things, after all, as they themselves cannot confront them.

This worker vs boss-union dichotomy, timeless and applicable anywhere, universalizes the class struggle out of

existence. The whole incredible complexity of classes and strata in advanced capitalist states, and the whole range of psychological, social, national, ethnic, political, etc. mediations within such a framework, are ignored. These 'theoretical' problems are too 'academic', outside the framework of 'immediate' struggle. Workers hate bosses, that is enough theory, says CPL. We have the theory, the workers have the practice — and this mechanistic approach passes for dialectical reasoning!

What of the amazing array of problems confronted by every movement? The national question in Quebec, in all its historic complexity, immigrant-native divisions, the question of women, pure racism per se, the role of backward ideologies among more primitive workers newly arrived from peasant areas or petty-bourgeoisie classes, the Church, populism — Creditists, fascism, social-democracy, the NDP, PQ, even pure 'cultural' diversions like TV or sports — all these are merely plots to divide an otherwise somehow-magically united working class, and thus CPL, in effect, wishes them away (since it does not dialectically analyze the role and effects of historical political events like the role of the NDP, rise of the PQ, role of agrarian populism, etc).

Instead of seeing in these movements an array of forces, bourgeois and proletarian, and how they will dialectically interact with each other and the outside world, as it impinges on them — in other words, what progressive elements will emerge from them to really become socialists, in a 'natural' evolution, of ideology and approach, CPL merely rails at the workers that which is obvious — that these groups are not 'really' socialists — thus alienating many people altogether. Indeed, since CPL in some way works "outside history" entirely, in a timeless, mechanical way, fighting the eternal battle of the trade-unions, it ends up as a pathetic, shabby shell of Marxism — proselytizing on street corners, "taking names", etc — all outside any "historical" framework of struggle.

The Jacobinistic petty-bourgeois approach to classes — seeing them not in relation to each other, in their historical development, in the role of the state, in the international interplay of states and their classes, in a word, in the whole richness of Marxist analysis — leads CPL to this form of economism. Classes become ahistorical, abstract billiard balls, mechanically interacting (according to the capitalist market mechanism) — a type of materialism that pre-dates Marx, and can just as easily be seen as utilitarianism or utopianism, and is the basis for all liberal theories of society. Not to be a spiritualist does not make one a socialist.

This form of non-dialectical materialism leads inevitably to populism — the timeless interplay of classes, never explained within the framework of the historical development and present state of capitalism in Canada and the world. This leads to a form of analysis of class struggle which, to make up for the poverty of theory of class psychology, substitutes pure militancy.

Thus the problems of different strata of workers, their type of work, origins, location; organization of various in-

dustries — monopolistic or otherwise and how this reflects on the owner(s)-workers relationship; their relative economic position — rising or falling in the national or world market, forms of competition to them and how this affects wage structures, etc; the capitalist economy per se, in its cyclical upturns and depressions, and how each of these leads to different problems for workers — inflation, unemployment, etc; all the mediations of the state, its bureaucracy and police forces, the various classes, the companies per se, the complex psychological-social-cultural problems of working class families — all this is neglected by CPL, which gives us instead populism — the psychology of hate. "All" workers hate "all bosses." "Bosses (as people) are "bad" (not, rather, that capitalism as a form of social organization of production has outlived its historical role in combatting scarcity and now impedes human progress, in the process leading to terrible social, economic, cultural, political and personal-psychological deformities, even in love, the family, etc).

Of course 'bosses' are 'bad' — although some try (but "cannot" be, in the nature of things — an important point) to be "good". This is not the point. But then CPL, the vanguard party, feels workers probably can't "understand" these things, instead must be told to hate their bosses (as if they have to be told). CPL's ultra-left line of combatting all 'revisionism' and "softness" turns out to be "tailism", in effect.

Indeed, so economist is CPL, so subservient to bourgeois hegemony in terms of ideology, that it glorifies the lack of culture among workers, the "idiocy" of modern-day life in working-class areas, the absolute poverty of historical consciousness of a class-for-itself. Hatred of bosses will provide this glue, all by itself, in one fell swoop, across deeply-rooted problems, fundamental problems, such as the whole historical context the working class is in at present. Neglected are such factors as the role of Canada as a 'junior partner' in US imperialism on a global scale, the lack of a radical national bourgeoisie in Canada, the national question, relationships of industries to each other, and the interaction of different types of workers, within industries and on a national, trans-industrial scale, hegemony of bourgeois ideology in manifold forms, etc., etc.

Naturally, CPL, vanguard of the working class, will accuse us of 'defeatism', over-analysis, academism, perhaps even a 'hack' in the pay of the "bosses". Let them. But let them also read Gramsci, for the problems will not go away due to a militant attempt at ultra-left syndicalism, which will, IWW style, melt away all regional, historical differences, all counter-attacks by capitalism and capitalists, in all its forms and on all levels, and by many means, both carrot and stick. CPL is again, attempting to form yet another CIO, within the context of modern monopoly capitalism — a 'good' UAW, this time! The very sins of which it accuses the old CIO in this way do left sectarians become economists!

This abstract, universalized, and very mechanistic approach to class struggle, petty-bourgeois in its origins and even psychology, (especially in its total fear of

any form of national struggle as being in some way diametrically opposed, rather than interrelated in a very complex, class way, to the struggle for socialism) differs radically from the upper-class disdain for the working class displayed by the arrogant Weathermen, with their terrorism and glorification of all forms of "Third World" struggle, their total deformation of the concept of class to that of "groups" ('the poor', 'chicanos', 'blacks' even homosexuals, etc — as though they were all somehow vertically divided for all time) and thus their ultra-nationalism ('externally', that is, for those countries under control of U.S. imperialism) and total hatred of internal America.

And yet CPL is merely the other side of the coin — it too looks down, indeed fawns, on workers, glorifies them and sees no vertical splits at all — its tailism is in the end as defeatist and unrealistic, tactically, as is the narodnik approach of the Weatherman fringe.

For CPL is not a party which focuses all the ills of society within a political framework, it does not speak for all who suffer, in all manner of different ways, under capitalism, since for a populist only the absolutely physical pain or boredom of factory work counts as suffering. Other people — students, tiny entrepreneurs, certain lumpen elements — are not 'workers', are thus beyond the pale, unless willing in some artificial, mechanical way to tie-up with factory struggle, rather than see their own ills as also stemming from this same capitalism, if in a different, more indirect and mediated, manner, and with certain more redeeming features, admittedly.

CPL, economism is that of a sectarian, yet very 'wide-open' trade-unionism — not at all a party, in the Leninist sense, not at all a lightning rod attracting to itself all problems of capitalist society, and developing, dialectically, through true political interaction, fundamental theory and perspective, as opposed to pure descriptive work dealing with specific factory evils, or school evils, or evils of shopping, etc. — all these very mechanically tied in with each other, and subordinated to pure worker agitation.

The petty-bourgeois sectarianism of CPL and such groups ('only we are the carriers of Marxism', 'if Marx were alive he'd be in our group', etc.) leads to problems of adjustment to historical tensions, events and (sometimes) pure accidents (e.g. some depression that 'should' have come doesn't, some 'evil' minister grants certain freedoms, etc.). And since the historical perspective of these economists is so limited, so in the here-and-now, so unable to see longer-term dialectical developments — economic, political, social — of a world-historical variety, any one such event can totally disillusion such a purist, with his Marxism-turned-religion.

Should the 'faithful' reject him at some factory (they, who 'must' at all times be totally oppressed as well as exploited, and full of hatred of the boss!), should some unforeseen event occur, some historical pitfall (the failure of the left in Spain, the Pact of 1939, NLF peace talks with U.S. aggressors), some turn in history, then often total rejection of socialism follows — 'the God that failed', 'I've been duped', etc.

This is especially easy for those members who are not of a working class background, and thus do not have the historic experience and pressures of capitalism, on a personal-family level, but who, as intellectuals or bourgeois people, can easily turn their backs on the ideology that 'deceived' them.

Catechisms easily learned can be easily forgotten. Those for whom socialism is a life-style (Weathermen) or a closed set of ideas with no room for manoeuvre (CPL) are the ultimate purists, brook no deviations, revisionism or compromise, yet, since they are unable to think dialectically or use Marxism scientifically, in all its richness

of theoretical application to all facets of the overall state and civil society, they become the first to denounce it if something 'goes wrong'.

And, of course, while in the ultimate sense the general historical laws of Marxism tend to hold true, they are often 'refracted' through historical accidents and misfortunes, as well as plain human failure.

CPL's special ahistorical, mechanical, populist approach, where, as in a western movie, one is a 'hero' or a 'traitor', leads to incredible lack of personal or historical perspective in evaluating and judging events, people and countries — a stiffness which leads to this so-called 'disillusionment'. If socialism does not immediately bring on the millennium in those areas where it is struggling for its very life against capitalist encirclement and military-economic power, if socialism has been under attack since 1917, causing great distortions, terrible problems, the most immense dilemmas, if a small people fighting a national liberation struggle against the largest imperialist power on earth, for reasons it knows best, also talks with its enemy — then these groups, these nations have 'sold out', they are returning to capitalism — yes, it's just that simple.

CPL, which fights only on a trade-union level, with its lack of theory, nonetheless makes pronouncements about the USSR, eastern Europe, Cuba (under rule of the bourgeoisie, apparently) and now even China. Yes — even Peking, since it is also a state structure and has all the problems faced by a socialist state in its underdeveloped situation including trade with capitalist states, and thus pursues an 'impure' foreign policy, is now getting 'bad'. These states were 'good' now they are 'revisionist', and 'bad'. They are like the sellout union leaders on the factory level, but writ large!

The entire complexity of 20th century history, the socialist movement, its strategy and tactics, its line, its successes and failures in different areas and due to different and particular circumstances — all reduced to this economist strategy! Socialism should be a factory — and so the state and party bureaucrats (especially in the USSR and eastern Europe) are merely traitors. And just as CPL economism does contain important truth, about union structures and worker subjugation on that level, on a factory level, so does its critique of the Soviet state and party structure contain a wealth of truth — all the more reason why it misleads and distorts. All the more the necessity to polemicize against it! Were it bourgeois social science there would be no need for it! Even those who misuse and cheapen Marxism still have a powerful theoretical weapon in their hands!

This petty bourgeois approach tailist in its conception of the role of a party, of the place of a party in the movement, more concerned with workers than with socialism (if the reader follows), also tails behind in its conception of history — it sees only weird twists and turns, only 'good' people and 'bad' people (or once-good people who simply sold out — the Soviet leaders, say). It tends to judge them by rhetoric, not actions, in many cases (Stalin may have 'talked tough',

but for perhaps very understandable reasons, was scrupulously legalistic in his relations with bourgeois states.) Yet CPL refuses to acknowledge that Stalin, not his successors, laid the groundwork for what they consider Soviet 'revisionism'. Why this inconsistency? Why not admit Stalin for what he was — leader of a state under tremendous pressure from the West (including the Nazi invasion and consequent destruction of vast areas of the USSR), responsible for many very serious errors, yet also very important in the final victory of World War II and thus saving the "continuity" of socialism in a state form (very important for aid to other movements and states such as Cuba).

Why this all-or-nothing approach to politics, which sees 'bad men' corrupting socialist purity, instead of certain very wide-reaching world-historical trends, some almost beyond the control of socialists themselves, tied as they are to capitalist state offensives, etc. This simplistic populist approach again shows the total lack of historical analysis, in true dialectical fashion, on all levels (from the politics of world wars to struggles between classes on a factory level), the dearth of theory, the sectarian nature of CPL economism, which fails totally to grasp history in any wider sense, which demands perfection in the immediate present (all others are 'soft', can't 'struggle' properly — one wonders if the leadership of CPL ever dares smile, lest this be a 'compromise' with the total twin evils of capitalism and, worse yet, revisionism, Soviet and local).

The 'fake left revisionist' is much worse than the boss — Kautsky is worse than Bismarck. Again, like all economist distortions, this is in a sense true — revisionists do mislead and are dangerous, but the point is to see it not as apples and apples, but apples and oranges — one can't say one is worse than the other — one is "the enemy", the other a "traitor", if you wish. But one should be much more careful about identifying traitors, who may indeed turn out to be correct (as Kautsky, of course, did not) with the enemy — the actual ruling class and its political structure. How can CPL even dare to say that a "boss" and even a "hack lackey" union leader are "exactly" the same enemy (even "objectively")? The very nature of the role of the union, its demands, objectives, etc. (even if minimal) must bring out the class conflict, expose such a traitor if he is one (this is for the workers, not CPL, to decide, on the trade-union level. Trade-unions are not by themselves supposed to bring about socialism in one industry), and fire him (unless it is, of course, a complete company union, in an explicit sense — in which case the functionary is not a union traitor, but in effect a foreman).

Otherwise, a more careful critique of the role of unions within the entire framework of modern capitalism, careful explanation to workers of why they are bound, by the nature of things to always fail (even when they do "win" substantial benefits), why they require larger socialist organizations, is needed.

The CPL line that it is just constant leadership sell-out is in effect counter-socialistic — it leads workers to feel a that "if only" we get rid of Mr. X or Y, we can beat GM. What misleading ideas! Does not CPL realize that Marx himself would "lose" a strike to GM? How could it indeed be otherwise under capitalism? If not, then why have the party at all? CPL must answer all these questions and clarify its strategy and whole approach in the interests of socialism; it might begin by a careful re-reading of *What Is to Be Done?*

NOTES

THE STRANGE
CASE OF
ELECTIONS
AT MCGILL

Elections are the most democratic way to decide the question of leadership. That sounds very nice. But when all is said and done, elections are really games, political extravaganzas to be precise. This applies to all elections in North America. Unfortunately it also applies to elections at McGill. There is a voyeurism raging this year at McGill, in the sense that we cannot seem to get enough of these spectacles.

We started off the first semester on a bright note, finding that one third of our student executive was missing. Why? Very simply, the academic who was to fill the post of vice-president left. As the year progressed we found that the other two thirds of the act did not qualify for other reasons. When an election was called for internal vice president, 7 per cent of the enthusiastic student population streamed to the ballot boxes to elect David Rovins. At the time we were not concerned so much with the lack of voters. The priority seemed to be that we could now have a stable executive that could at least try to get things done. This was not to be the case. The next episode in our electoral soap opera concerned the resignation of David Rovins. One could not blame the man. He was sick (his first claim by his own admission). But much to everybody's satisfaction Rovins regained his health (still only by his own admission), and took his seat on the council.

Now the fun could begin. Many explanations were thrashed out over why the executive did not get along. However to this writer, the obvious explanation is that when the moment of truth came, Sir Richard of Pomerantz could not decide who would make a better court jester, Alan of Tanny or Rovins of Hypochondria. He decided that he could tolerate neither. The apolitical Pomerantz felt that in the interests of melodrama, he should attempt to have Rovins impeached. Rovins said that this was unconstitutional. Council retorted, "Fuck the constitution. We don't want you around, so take a hint." Rovins "maintained his composure" and told Council that flattery would get them nowhere. At

the next session, Pomerantz and Tanny announced their resignations and Rovins appeared to have gained a bloodless victory.

An election ensued, and the students were confronted by one of the slickest campaigns ever run in McGill's history. Some of the candidates' posters were straight out of a Hollywood movie or a Madison Avenue brochure. Gabor Zinner, in an unprecedented display of egomania, showed us not only his face and his profile, but also treated us to a picture of him sporting his brand new blue tinted glasses. Steve Leopold refrained from shaving for a few days so that he could present the image of a virile midnight cowboy.

Aside from flashy posters, students were also faced with some issues. The two main ones were the recommendations of the Réseau Report and the foreign student fee hike. All the candidates took the same stand on these two questions. Voters had to choose not on issues but on personality. Because the candidates maintained similar stands on the basic issues, some of them decided that the best thing to do was to focus on a different issue. Mr. Leopold, the presidential candidate tried beer but found in the end that he was not a true cowboy and that he could not hold his liquor. When he found that harping on the pub would not gain an enormous amount of sympathy, he came out with a startling revelation. To a full house audience in Leacock 132, he announced that he was in favor of the legalization of marijuana. They say that the way to end short stories is by surprising the reader. In that case it may be said that Leopold ended his political crusade in style.

Something that has not been discussed in reference to elections is the amount of money spent on elections by the Students' Society. Over \$1,000 was spent in the last campaign on advertising alone. Approximately \$150 was spent on amenities like locks for ballot boxes, and ballots themselves. (It may be interesting to note that two sets of ballots had to be printed because of the Rovins resignation affair the day of the election.)

Except for the unlikely possibility of again printing two sets of ballots, we will have to put up with election expenses of this order once more. The Student Council, if it were a representative and responsible body, would inform students of these election expenses. It has, however, failed to do so. But it has not failed to publicize in the real sense of the word, the over-rated achievements of its temporary executive. The fact is, that the only achievement that the executive can call its own is the inception of the cultural and entertainment committee, to run a rock concert, a pub, and a theatre. It reminds one of the Roman emperor Nero who played the fiddle while Rome burned.

Perhaps the most important point that was brought out in the last election is that the candidates who spent the most money, also won. The idea that one has to spend a lot of money to win an election was abhorred in 1968 when Richard Nixon bought the U.S. Presidency. But here again McGill faced the same dilemma. While Gabor Zinner would not divulge to me how much he spent on his last campaign, it is known that he spent far more than any other candidate. Just ask the residents of the Royal Victoria College of Women who sponsored their party the weekend before the election.

It is hoped that in the next election the students of McGill will show a little maturity and not vote for the candidate on the basis of personality. Personally, I don't believe that one needs money to win at McGill. One of the only candidates who would permit his expenditures to be quoted here, spent only 27¢ on his campaign. He received something in the neighborhood of 250 votes. By mathematical induction, this would mean that had he spent \$1.09 he could have beaten Miss Whitney Hardy.

There is a law in the Students' Society Constitution which stipulates that campus publications like the McGill Daily are not allowed to discuss elections after nominations for election have been closed. This article is meeting the deadline by one day. Then the cone of silence will be lowered and you will not be swayed or influenced by what we write here. The only thing which I can intimate to you at this time with regard to the next election in March is that a vote for Zelechowsky will not necessarily be a vote for Piasecki.

Alex Adler

LE
"FRENCH PROBLEM"
A MCGILL

Monsieur le Directeur,

Dans votre édition du mercredi 9 février, vous avez publié un article que j'ai écrit à propos de la difficulté que rencontre un étudiant d'expression française lorsqu'il veut s'exprimer dans sa langue à certains services administratifs de McGill. J'y relatais entre autre le contenu intégral et authentique d'une confrontation que j'ai eue à cet égard avec une

secrétaire-réceptionniste de l'Université. Si vous avez reproduit le contenu exact de mon article, vous en avez toutefois modifié le titre "Un Canadien-français devrait-il pouvoir s'adresser en français à l'Administration building?" pour celui de "Cul de sac". Cette modification a sans doute été guidée par la longueur démesurée du titre original. Cependant je me sens insatisfait du titre que vous avez choisi, pour deux raisons: la première est que si le français à McGill est dans un cul de sac comme vous semblez le suggérer, il ne reste plus que deux solutions possibles: accepter la situation ou s'enrôler dans le FLQ, ce que je me refuse encore à croire; la seconde est que ce titre en ne donnant aucune indication directe du contenu de l'article s'est trouvé à supprimer l'impact qu'il aurait pu créer.

Mais peut-être bien que la langue française et avec elle tout ce qu'elle symbolise pour les québécois n'a tout simplement pas lieu de créer un impact à McGill. Qu'un étudiant se plaigne de l'attitude négative d'une réceptionniste face au français ce ne peut être qu'une autre manifestation du chauvinisme culturel dont les canadiens-français sont capables de faire preuve ou encore de leur tendance naturelle à tout exagérer. A coup sûr, il s'agit d'un radical qui se refuse à voir que McGill évolue peu à peu, comme c'est normal, et qui devrait admettre que McGill ayant une responsabilité première face à la communauté anglophone, il est tout aussi normal qu'elle soit anglaise. Après tout, même si McGill est une Université à vocation internationale, ne fait-elle pas déjà beaucoup pour la société québécoise? Ne forme-t-elle pas les cadres nécessaires à la bonne marche des structures économiques du pays, lesquels, c'est reconnu historiquement, sont délaissés par les Canadiens-français. Bien plus, elle les forme dans la langue internationale.

Sa beinveillance va encore plus loin. Elle recueille en son sein même une portion importante de Canadiens-français, peut-être dix à quinze pour cent. C'est d'ailleurs faire preuve d'une grande ouverture d'esprit surtout si nous tenons compte du fait que le gouvernement québécois lui coupe les subventions. La culture québécoise n'est d'ailleurs pas maltraitée. Au contraire, McGill n'a-t-elle pas institué un département de la culture québécoise? Ne donne-t-elle pas des cours de français, les examens ne peuvent-ils pas être rédigés en français? Elle tolère même des conférenciers séparatistes.

McGill a pu vivre cent quarante-huit ans avant que lui soit faite la farce de "McGill français", la loi des probabilités lui permet bien d'espérer qu'elle ne lui sera pas répétée d'ici au moins les cent prochaines années.

Jean Poupart

If we cannot find 50 students, taking one or more English courses, who would be interested in serving on and participating in the Assembly and Committees of the English Department, there will be no further student participation in the Department's Affairs.

Persons who are so interested are invited to come to Room B-20 of the Arts Building, anytime between noon and 5 P.M., Wednesday, 23 February.

The English Literature Association

TODAY

PLAYERS CLUB: Modern classic and modern jazz dance presented by the players club. Performed by "Euphoria" dance troop. No admissions charge. Sandwich Theatre, 1-2 pm.

MINI-PIZZA LUNCH: For all girls from 12-2 pm at Kappa Alpha Theta, 546 Milton.

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP: Daily Prayer meetings to start the day. Union 307, 8:30 am.

Keith Price will be with us for the first in a series of 3 on the Psalms. Everyone welcome. Union 458, 6:30 pm.

OLD MCGILL: On sale now, \$5 only. Union Box Office 12-2 pm. Grad photo deadline extended to Feb. 22.

ARCHAEOLOGY SOCIETY: Prof. Galavaris will speak on Constantinian Buildings in Palestine. Fine Arts Seminar Room, W220, 7 pm.

DELTA GAMMA WOMEN'S FRATERNITY: Open House all day, 10 am-8 pm. Free lunch, free dinner, new friends, stimulating conversation, 625

Milton, Apt. 202.

CULTURAL ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE: Invites applicants to work on films and music. Leave name at Union Desk c/o Israel.

PLAYERS CLUB: Opening night of "From Morn to Midnight" directed by Steve Mergler. Sandwich Theatre, 8:30 pm.

GAMMA PHI BETA SORORITY: Best hot lunch around, for all interested girls. 3448A Peel (down the alley), 12-2 pm.

MCGILL LEGAL AID CLINIC: Continued on page 7



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There will be Mass each Friday during Lent in the Chapel of Divinity Hall at 12:10 p.m.

MANAGEMENT SKI TRIP

Friday, Feb. 18th, 1972
Mont Habitant
followed by Bash at Le Trappeur

Tow: \$2.00 Transp.: \$2.00 (free mgt. students)
Buses leave 4:30 P.M. from the Union
Tickets: Box Office-Union Bldg.

N.B. If you have already bought tickets for Feb. 4th and can't make it on Feb. 18th, refunds are available Wed. Feb. 16th and Thurs. Feb. 17th from 1 P.M. to 3 P.M. at the Information Desk, Union-Main Floor.

AN ENCOUNTER WITH CHABAD CHASSIDIM

PROGRAM

Fri., Feb. 18th
1:00-4:00 P.M. Arrival & registration
5:30 P.M. Introduction, Dr. Y. Block
8:30 P.M. Seminar: An Exercise in Jewish Awareness, Rabbi A. Shem-Tov

Sat., Feb. 19th
9:00 A.M. Study in Chassidic Philosophy, Dr. Y. Block
10:00 A.M. Shachris (morning service)
3:00 P.M. (women) The Status of women in Judaism & Chabad, Dr. V. Greene, Mrs. I. Block, Mrs. J. Mendelsohn; (men) Shabbath Workshops
4:30 P.M. Shalosh Seudos, Chassidic discourse and melodies
8:30 P.M. Main Session: — An Individual's quest for Chassidism, Dr. V. Greene; — Chassidism: The Mystical Aspect of Judaism, Rabbi A. Shem-Tov
11:00 P.M. Chassidic Song & Dance
12:00 midnight — Fabrengin (getting high Chassidically) Dr. Y. Block

Sun., Feb. 20th
10:00 A.M. — Shachris (morning service)
11:30 A.M. — Brunch — What Now?

for registration and
further information
contact

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735-2201 and 739-9031
or
Hillel House



THE NEWMAN CENTRE LECTURE

Professor Jim Ramsay of the Dept. of Psychology will speak on: -

"The Psychology of Religious Belief".

Thursday February 17

Leacock 212 at 8.00 p.m.

COMMERCE UNDERGRADUATE SOCIETY OF MCGILL UNIVERSITY

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS C.U.S. EXECUTIVE ELECTION MARCH 8th

Nominations are now open for the following positions in next year's executive of the Commerce Undergraduate Society: President, Vice-President, Social Chairman, Treasurer. Submissions for President must be signed by 50 management undergraduate students; V-P-35 signatures required; for all other positions — 25 signatures are required. Applications must be in the CUS Box in the Union before 4:30 P.M. on February 23.

The forms should read: "We the undersigned hereby nominate _____ for the position of _____ of the Commerce Undergraduate Society" and should be countersigned by the nominee. Address and phone number of nominee must be given. Nominators must also state their year within the Faculty. Any further information can be obtained at 392-8953 or 845-8971.

Glen Marcotte
C.U.S. C.R.O.

Continued from page 6

Union 412. Phone 392-8992. Thursday 4-7 pm.

ALPHA OMICRON PI: Welcomes all girls to lunch. 3570 University, 12-2 pm.

ENGINEERING WEEK: Inquisition — questioning of the Engineering Princesses. McConnell Engineering Building, 1 pm.

ALPHA GAMMA DELTA WOMEN'S FRATERNITY: All girls invited for fondue lunch. 3563 University St., apt. 10, 12-2

CAMERA CLUB: Basic photo, developing, and printing lessons. Sign list outside Union Building. Cost \$2.

COMMITTEE AGAINST THE WAR IN INDOCHINA: Work for the April mobilization. Call 845-4015.

CULTURAL AND ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE: Look, laugh and listen. Buster Keaton and Rock Band "Hill". Union Ballroom, 1 pm.

SKYDIVING CLUB: Everyone welcome. Union basement. Demonstrations and bring your socks and running shoes.

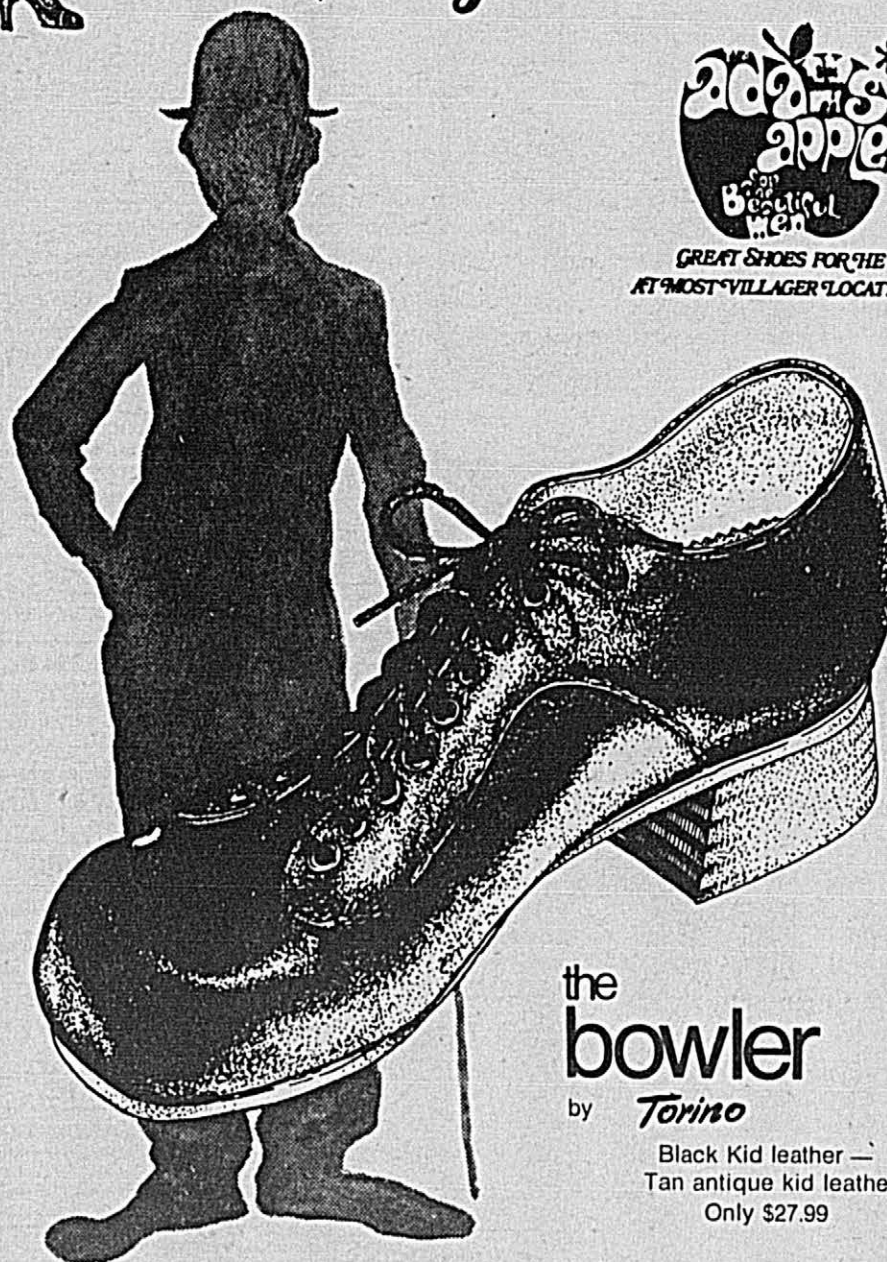
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10:30 - 7 University Center, 2nd floor.

CLASSIFIEDS**MISCELLANEOUS**

M.O.C. SKI TRIP: Glen Mountain. \$5.50, non-
members \$7.00. Sunday Feb. 20, 7:30 A.M. from
Roddick Gates. Tickets at Box Office.

COME AND ENJOY french onion soup and
great conversation. Open lunches every day this
week. Kappa Alpha Theta. 546 Milton Ave. No. 2

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return trip \$2.00, tickets available at Union Box
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day, 12-2 P.M.

NICKLE THEATRE this week: Tuesday Feb.
15th, The Three Stooges, Thursday Feb. 17th
Buster Keaton. 1-2 P.M. Union Ballroom. 5c ad-
mission.

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tre. French an asset. Write Andre Moreau. 3586
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TYPING

TYPING LECTURE NOTES, theses, term
papers, ink stencils, copy work, same day ser-
vice. 733-3272.

Students' Society elections

Nominations are hereby
called for the following
positions

- **PRESIDENT**
- **VICE-PRESIDENT**
Internal Affairs
- **VICE-PRESIDENT**
External Affairs

A) Nominations for President must be signed by at
least 100 members of the McGill Students' Society
together with their year and faculty, and for the
positions of Vice-President by at least 50 mem-
bers of the Students' Society together with their
year and faculty.

B) These positions may be held by any member of
the McGill Students Society in good standing with
the University, except:

- I. Partial students taking less than three
courses
- II. Students registered in the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research who are
non-resident students or full members of
the teaching staff.

- Two (2) Council representatives from the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research
- One (1) Council representative from the
Faculty of Nursing (undergraduate)
- One (1) Council representative from the
Faculty of Music.

Nominations must be signed by at least 25 stu-
dents of the above faculties.

All nominations must contain only these words:

We the undersigned students nominate
..... for the position of
They must be countersigned by the nominee with
address and telephone number and be handed to
the Secretary Treasurer of the Students' Society
by

4 p.m. Friday Feb. 18th 1972

Bennett Little
Chief Returning Officer

